

U.S. reappraising M.E. after upset

By WOLF BLITZER
Jerusalem Post Correspondent
WASHINGTON. — U.S. officials, stunned by the upset Likud victory, have begun reappraising American policy in the Middle East. They fear that a Likud-led government will now take "hardline" positions on territorial concessions, resulting in a diplomatic stalemate and possibly another round of hostilities.

National security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski said yesterday the Likud upset would not change the relationship between the U.S. and Israel. "The basic relationship... does not depend on electoral vicissitudes," he told reporters at the White House.

In its first official comment on the result, the U.S. said it remains fully committed to the search for Middle East peace.

During private conversations yesterday, American officials expressed shock and disappointment over the outcome of Tuesday's election. The Carter Administration had been conducting its peace effort under the assumption that Shimon Peres and the Alignment would remain in power.

The White House said that President Jimmy Carter would like to meet with the next Israel Prime Minister. Spokesman Jody Powell said that Carter has "indicated on several occasions that at an appropriate time, after the new government is formed, he would like to sit down and discuss peace plans" with the new Israeli leader.

Powell quoted the President as having said yesterday morning that, "The most important aspect of the relationship between this country

and Israel is quite apart from the particular identity of the leaders of either country." He said that Carter "went on to state the long-standing friendship between the two countries. He has no concern about the ability of this government to deal with the freely-chosen leadership of Israel."

Privately, some American officials conceded yesterday that U.S. policy toward the Middle East during the past three months may have played a part in defeating the Labour Alignment — although they insist that this was unintended. In fact, the opposite was true.

It was clear here in Washington that the State Department was rooting for a Labour victory. American policymakers fear that

the Likud would refuse to negotiate the return of most of the territories, while the Labour Alignment is viewed here as more flexible.

At the same time U.S. officials acknowledge that recent American statements of the Middle East — including Carter's remarks on a need for Israel to return to the pre-1967 borders with only minor adjustments and the need for a Palestinian "homeland" — probably scared the Israeli voter into selecting the Likud.

Some American officials were themselves questioning the wisdom of all these public U.S. statements by the Carter Administration during this sensitive campaign period in

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U.S. Jews startled by Likud upset

By MALKA RABINOWITZ
Jerusalem Post Correspondent
NEW YORK. — A startled American Jewish establishment seemed to be placing its trust yesterday in the sobering effect of power on the Likud as it waited for the shape of the new government and its key figures to emerge.

Spokesmen were quick to issue public expressions of support for Israel, while privately hoping that the responsibility of office would soften the ultra-nationalist image cultivated by Menachem Begin's party during a generation on the opposition benches.

Rabbi Alexander Schindler, chairman of the Presidents' Conference and considered a dove, cabled congratulations to Begin on Tuesday night and welcomed his call for a

national unity government. Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg, president of the American Jewish Congress, issued a statement citing the "deep love of American Jews for Israel" which was directed at the state and its citizens and not to any political party or leader.

One Jewish leader predicted "some increase in dissent" if a narrow Likud-NRP government was formed that felt obligated to carry out its ideological commitment. Senator Jacob Javits, New York Republican, said a more hawkish government would be able to speak with "much more confidence in terms of working out some kind of a deal" with the Arab states. He also suggested that a more conservative government could help improve the Israeli economy.

Likud ready to form coalition even without Alignment, DMC

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT
Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The Likud yesterday proposed a national unity government but said it was certain it could form a coalition without the Alignment or the Democratic Movement for Change.

The religious parties and Shlomzion are ready to join a national unity government or a Likud-led coalition. Alignment leaders, however, rejected the Likud call, and the DMC anticipated difficulties in reconciling its prior conditions with what its potential partners could offer.

The Likud Executive unanimously declared yesterday it was capable of forming a coalition which would have a backing of a majority in the Knesset. But "at this grave time there is a need for a national unity government which would put the nation back on the main road," it added.

The Likud's No. 2 man, Simcha Ehrlich, told *The Jerusalem Post*: "We want a strong government which can take effective action. Not a government which will be dependent on (a majority of) one."

The Likud's No. 1, Menachem Begin, who heads the Liberal Party, Begin, who heads the Liberal Party, and Yigal Horowitz of La'am to a committee which will conduct the coalition negotiations with the other parties. A second committee comprising Horowitz, Yitzhak Shamir (Herut) and Moshe Nissim (Liberals) will tackle Knesset issues such as who will be the bloc's candidate for speaker and who his deputies should be.

Begin told Israel Radio reporter Asher Shwartz that he expected President Ephraim Katzir to start negotiations with the Knesset factions before the new Knesset is convened. He said he believed he could form a new cabinet quickly.

Begin's claim is based on the assumption that the Likud will have 45 seats by the time all the votes are counted. Support for the Likud in the army has usually been higher than elsewhere.

The ballots cast in the army are still being counted because the Central Elections Committee first checks whether the soldier-voter was entitled to vote and whether he hadn't voted more than once. (The soldier's identity is marked on an exterior envelope which is cast away after the check.)

The Likud votes, together with Agudat Yisrael and Poalei Agudat Yisrael's five, would give the Likud a 64-member majority in the 120-member chamber, Begin said.

Samuel Flatto Sharon told a press conference here yesterday the Likud's platform is most congenial to him, but Ehrlich said the Likud would do without the millionaire wanted in France for fraud.

Begin was yesterday accorded the first trappings of authority. Bodyguards, including some who had protected Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, were assigned to watch him. A uniformed policeman was also posted outside his home in the centre of Tel Aviv.

Begin is expected to meet Acting Prime Minister Shimon Peres and the head of the central intelligence institute (Mossad) for a briefing on national and security affairs. Begin said he expected the meeting today or tomorrow. A source close to Peres told *The Jerusalem Post* the timing was not set yet.

Independent political observers believed the Likud's capability to form a narrow coalition at an early stage without the Alignment and the DMC could influence the DMC to soften its demands.

Ehrlich said yesterday he believed the chances of forming a national unity government were "very reasonable." But his evaluation was based on impressions, not upon contacts with the potential partners.

Ehrlich said he believed it was possible to bridge the differences
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Begin advises Carter not to submit plan

TEL AVIV. — Menachem Begin yesterday advised U.S. President Carter not to prepare his own version of a Middle East settlement for imposition on Israel.

In a conversation with UPI's Allen Alter in Begin's flat here, the man likely to head the next Israel government said: "The two sides must be allowed to conduct free talks with each other."

Begin repeated his election-night call for negotiations with the leaders of Egypt, Syria and Jordan.

Arabs see need for U.S. pressure

CAIRO. — The outcome of the Israeli elections shows that the need for American pressure on the Jewish state has become more important than ever before in the efforts to achieve a Middle East peace settlement, government sources said yesterday.

They expressed misgivings that the election victory of Menachem Begin might delay Arab-Israeli peace negotiations, not only because of Begin's reluctance for territorial concessions to the Arabs but also because of anticipated difficulties in the formation of a coalition government in Jerusalem.

Officially, the sources said, Egypt sees no basic differences between Israel's Labour Party and the Likud. "They are all hawks," one source said. "Only some sound more hawkish than others. It's a difference in shade, not substance."

"We have said all along that the U.S. holds most of the cards in the Middle East game," the source said. "Washington is capable of putting pressure on any Israeli government regardless of its colour. Now that superhawk Begin is taking over, American pressure becomes more essential than ever. This is the cardinal factor, and it does not make
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Likud leader Menachem Begin, flanked by Simcha Ehrlich (left) and Arye Dulzin, during a meeting of the Likud Executive yesterday at Beit Jabotinsky in Tel Aviv. (IPFA)

9th Knesset expected to convene June 6 with Likud at helm

By ASHER WALLFISH
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The Ninth Knesset is expected to convene for its inaugural session on Monday, June 6, with the Likud bloc for the first time orchestrating the arrangements and having the major influence on assignment of committee chairmanships among the major parties as well as on the size of each committee.

According to law, the Knesset must convene on the first Monday following the publication in "Reshumot" (the official gazette) of the final results of the elections.

Before June 6, the Central Elections Committee will have sent each Knesset member a notice that he or she was elected. The quotient per seat, which in 1973 was some 12,500, is this time expected to be between 17,000 and 18,000 voters.

Well before the final count it appears that both the Independent Liberals and the Citizens Rights Movement will be very close to the 1 per cent threshold which a list must cross to qualify for at least one seat. (This threshold is higher than the quotient per seat since there are 120 seats.) There is no certainty that the ILP and the CRM will cross the threshold. Mordechai Ben-Porat's Zionist and Social Revival list will not cross the threshold of 1 per cent.

Latest estimate of Knesset lineup

Likud	41
Alignment	34
DMC	14
NRP	12
Aguda and Poalei Aguda	5
Democratic Front (Hakab)	6
Shelli	2
Shlomzion	2
Flatto	1
ILP	1
CRM	1
United Arab	1

It is assumed at this early stage. Samuel Flatto Sharon, who ran on a one-man list, will apparently not get enough votes for a second man (even if he had one.) All the votes for his list, beyond the amount required to give him his one seat, will be ineffective. Even if he had got enough votes for two seats, the surplus would have remained as ineffective votes. When the Knesset seats remaining after the first distribution are shared out according to the Bader-Ofar system, Flatto Sharon's

imaginary and unoccupied second seat will have been shared out as well.

The Basic Law: Knesset says clearly that when a Knesset is newly elected it must contain 120 members. Last night, at the Central Elections Committee in the Knesset building, the results for the last polling region — Dan North, — still had not come in. They are expected early this morning. The results for Petah Tikva were still being put through the computer. All the other regional results had already been checked and cross-checked for mathematical accuracy through the computer. The chairman of the committee, Supreme Court Justice Elisha Manor, made a few minor corrections to get the mathematics straight, something which he is legally authorized to do.

By tonight all the civilian votes will have been counted, but not for publication. The soldiers' votes were all in by yesterday evening, the last batch having been flown in from Sinai to Atlat Airport by special plane. Most of the seamen's votes are already in. Those to arrive before the Sunday-night deadline will be validated for the elections. The late seamen's votes arriving after Sunday night will be disqualified — and
(Continued on page 2, col. 5)

Meshel: Likud, unions may clash

By ZE'EV SCHUL
Jerusalem Post Labour Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Histadrut Secretary-General Yehoram Meshel yesterday implied that the establishment of a Likud-led government could lead to a "severe confrontation" with the trade union movements. The Histadrut would make no concessions on full employment, restraining inflation, relative price stability, social insurance services and a just distribution of the tax burden, he warned.

In an interview given on Israel Radio yesterday, Meshel reiterated his faith in an overall settlement ("freeze") involving wage and price levels. "But if a new government leaves everything wavering and freezes only wage levels, we will reject it."

Likud leader Menachem Begin has said that he favours a two-year all-round wage and price freeze.

Asked whether he feared that the workers would be worse off under a government presided over by Begin, Meshel said a number of points were worrying him.

"Their No. 2 man (Simcha Ehrlich) said quite bluntly that they intend to control prices by means of what he called 'controlled unemployment.' There was also some talk of compulsory arbitration. I am strongly opposed to anarchy in labour relations — but I also do not believe that 95 per cent of the workers should be seated on court benches."

"Freedom of expression, freedom and integrity of the trade union movement will all be zealously safeguarded. It is a voluntary

organization, and no outsiders should be permitted to dictate terms or attempt to influence it in any way."

At the Histadrut's Phoenix Glass works in Haifa, some of the old-timers, including veteran staff committee member Muna Goldberg, are already talking of "demonstrations against the government." But most of his fellow workers are youngsters and newcomers who "voted for a change" and approve of the Likud.

Histadrut executive member Gideon Ben-Yisrael, however, told *The Jerusalem Post* here yesterday that the idea that the Histadrut would attempt to stage "political strikes" against the legitimate government of this country was absurd.

"But anyone who thinks that he
(Continued on page 2, col. 2)

NRP surprised by their gains

By ARYEH RUBINSTEIN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

National Religious Party leaders were no less surprised early yesterday morning to learn that they had won 12 Knesset seats than Likud headquarters was to discover that they had topped the Alignment.

The NRP had 12 seats in the Seventh Knesset, but it lost two of them in the 1973 elections. That was regarded as the beginning of a trend, and not just the price the NRP had to pay for being part of the government responsible for the shortcomings of the Yom Kippur War.

Most pundits thought that the NRP would be doing well if it succeeded in holding on to 10 seats, and even eight was considered reasonable.

Hakibbutz Hadati, originally offered 11th place on the NRP list, decided not to name a candidate at all. One of its reasons was that this was not a realistic spot.

Party secretary-general Zvi Bernstein ascribes its good showing to the fact that the general public is "fed up with the licentiousness and absence of values" in Israeli society and has come to see that the NRP stands for the values that are lacking.

Asked about coalition prospects, Bernstein said that the NRP would do all in its power to bring about a national unity government. He admitted, however, that there did not seem to be much chance that the Alignment would join a Likud-led government.

But he anticipated that Likud leader Menachem Begin would even have difficulties with the Democratic Movement for Change — if the latter stood firm on its "seven minimum conditions." In that case, he foresaw a narrow coalition comprising the Likud, the NRP, Agudat Yisrael, Shlomzion and Poalei Agudat Yisrael.

The DMC's national council last month decided that, on

min. cannon and contains both sophisticated artillery computers and laser range-finding equipment. The tank, which in addition to its crew of four can carry six fully equipped soldiers, is entered from the rear. The Merkava is said to cost around IL7m.
(Defence Ministry photo)

DMC busy calculating coalition combinations

By DAVID LENNON
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The early joy in the Democratic Movement for Change headquarters at the first indications of electoral achievements gave way yesterday to sober assessments.

The general feeling was that, despite its success at the polls, the DMC had not done quite well enough to ensure it the balance of power which had been its primary aim.

DMC leader Yigael Yadin and the party leadership met yesterday morning to consider their position as the third largest political party in the next Knesset. Calculating possible coalition combinations was the order of the day.

The firm pre-elections declarations that the DMC would only join a coalition with parties which accepted its demand for electoral reform and new elections within two years appeared to have tied the party's hands. Many members of the party, including Yadin, doubted if the victorious Likud would be willing to risk a swing back to Labour at new elections in the next 24 months.

There was also some doubt if the Likud could accept the DMC's insistence on willingness to return occupied territories in exchange for peace.

Yadin denied that the collapse of support for the Labour Party and consequent emergence of the Likud as the largest party in the Knesset had dealt a heavy blow to DMC plans to form a coalition with Labour. At the same time he admitted that he personally had never imagined that Labour would suffer such a heavy blow.

Indications that compromise was in the air came with his statement that the DMC had "never declared that we will only join a coalition which accepts the DMC's platform, but we will not do anything which is contrary to our platform."

The DMC's 120-member council will have to meet before any decision can be made on changing either the substance or the interpretation of the party platform to enable the new political force to join in a coalition with those who don't agree to it at present.

NATO to counter Soviet buildup

BRUSSELS. — Defence ministers of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) yesterday approved a sweeping programme to build up the alliance in face of an "increasingly offensive" Soviet military expansion. In effect, the ministers fully endorsed proposals made by President Carter at the NATO summit in London last week.

U.S. Secretary of Defence Harold Brown said here yesterday decisions by the U.S. and its allies to strengthen their forces are a signal to Moscow that they mean to deter any threat and to prevent Soviet bullying.

Brown spoke to reporters after he and the other ministers agreed to aim at an annual increase of 3 per cent in military spending over the cost of inflation.

U.S. wiretap bill

WASHINGTON (UPI). — The Administration proposed legislation yesterday to require a court order before a president could place wiretaps on any individual or group to gather foreign intelligence within the U.S. The bill would cover all types of electronic surveillance.



Flatto hopes MK status will help him in France

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT
Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Millionaire property speculator Samuel Flatto Sharon, who is wanted in France for fraud, said yesterday that he hoped his election to the Knesset on Tuesday will help him reach a settlement with the French authorities.

(France requested his extradition in January on the fraud charges. Flatto, who established residence in Israel in 1971, was sentenced in 1975 in absentia to five years in prison by a French court on other fraud and corruption charges.)

Asked to comment on reports that he had bribed voters in Tuesday's Knesset elections, Flatto told a press conference here: "I think the question is unfair and insulting. The chairman of the Central Elections Committee, Justice Elihu Mann, rejected all (pre-election) claims about buying votes."

As to his role in the Knesset, Flatto said that Likud premiership candidate Menahem Begin "will have to invite me if he wants to solve Israel's economic problems."

"The positions of prime minister and defence minister must be in the hands of politically experienced people; but I hope that social and economic ministries will be entrusted to technocrats," Flatto told reporters.

Flatto said he met the Likud's campaign manager, Ezer Weizman, several days ago. "We're old friends," the millionaire said. But he added that they had not discussed the future coalition. "Even Mr. Weizman, despite his optimism, didn't expect such a victory," Flatto said.

The millionaire said the issue of outgoing Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's illegal \$18,000 U.S. bank account — which brought about Rabin's downfall — had been exaggerated to such an extent that "it



Samuel Flatto Sharon gives his mother a kiss in his Savoyon home Tuesday night on learning of his election to the Knesset. She sports a Flatto campaign tee-shirt. (Castro)

caused people to smile." "Israel is not as corrupt as the media depict it," he told the press conference.

Rakah didn't do as well as expected

By YOEL DAB
Jerusalem Post Reporter

NAZARETH. — Representatives of the Rakah (Communist)-dominated Democratic Front expressed satisfaction yesterday at their increased vote in the Arab sector, which was responsible for the 50 per cent rise in their Knesset representation from four to six seats.

But the Communists had expected to do even better, hoping to win about eight seats.

In Shfar'am, the front polled a full 90 per cent of the vote, and in Tamra 75 per cent. But in Nazareth, the country's largest Arab city, the front polled only 62 per cent. Though this represents an 8 per cent rise over the 1973 elections, it is 7 per cent less than the Communists polled in the municipal elections a year and a half ago, when they captured the town.

The front did not do well in the smaller villages, and its leaders were less than elated at the results; but they put their best face forward to outsiders, claiming that the vote for them expressed the Arab citizens' protest against "discrimination and the government's warlike policies." They also explained the Likud's rise as a protest vote by Jewish voters, but expressed concern that a Likud government would endanger Jewish-Arab relations and prospects for peace.

(Only one purely Arab party, the United Arab List headed by MK Seif al-Din Zuhbi, passed the minimum required and will get either one or two seats, as against their present three. Two other Arab lists did not pass the minimum.)

The director of the Labour Party's Arab Department, Ra'anan Cohen, said that "under the circumstances," the Arab vote had been an "achievement," and had included 8,000 votes given directly to the Alignment, despite the "vicious propaganda" of Rakah.

Perhaps the most surprising result was the over 10,000 Arab votes gleaned by the NRP. This is considered a major achievement in view of the "Koenig Memorandum," which caused such a stir among the Arabs last year. (Yisrael Koenig, the Interior Ministry's northern district representative, issued a controversial memorandum on limiting Arab development in Galilee. Koenig is an NRP member.)

Shelli, which tried hard to penetrate the Arab sector, won only a negligible number of votes — in Nazareth, for instance, it got only 1 per cent, no more than the Likud.

In the Druse vote, Deputy Minister of Agriculture Sheikh Jaber Mnadi pulled 5,000 votes. But as he was in third place on the United Arab list, he will lose his long-held Knesset seat. Nevertheless, the Druse will have three members in the new Knesset, as against only two in the outgoing house. Two of the three will be new members: The DMC's Shadi Assad Azam of Beit Jann village and Ahsan Zaidan of Istiya. The Likud's Kamal Nasser al-Din of Dailat al-Carmel returns for a second term. There will be eight or nine non-Jewish members in the new house.



DMC leaders on election night, watch the results on TV. From left to right, Akiva Nof, Stef

Werthelmer, Yoram Alster, Shmuel Tamir, Melchior Amit, and, seated, Yigael Yadin. (Gutmann)

EXPERT SAYS SCANDALS DIDN'T TIP THE SCALES

Labour lost long before Tuesday

By JUDY SIEGEL
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Labour was slipping in the voter's esteem even before it became tainted with scandals and the Likud's platform in internal matters cost Labour votes from citizens who support its foreign policy — a pollster who correctly predicted the election results told *The Jerusalem Post* yesterday.

As most professional pollsters spent the morning after the elections analysing why their predictions were wrong, two experts were able to say "I told you so." One was Mina Tzemah of the Civil Information Institute. She predicted in the financial journal "Machan" on Sunday that the Likud would get 49 seats, compared to 30 for the Alignment and 14 for the DMC.

The other was the Israel Institute for Applied Social Research. "We were the first public opinion research organization to forecast a winning Likud trend," said Prof. Louis Guttmann, director of the institute, which released its most recent poll last week. "When the results became known, we were surprised by the extent that the trend continued," he told *The Post*, "but not by the announcement of the winner. It was there in the graphs; we just had to recognize it."

The institute staff has personally interviewed a total of some 80,000 citizens — all residents of Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Haifa and Beer-sheva — since Yitzhak Rabin became premier in 1974, with 500 to 800 sampled every week. The question on party preference was only one query in their regular continuing survey.

A study of the charted hills and valleys of public opinion shows that the "various personal scandals that tainted the Labour Party did not affect the trend," Prof. Guttmann says. It was on the way down even before Rabin went to the U.S. to visit Carter and Lea Rabin visited her Washington bank.

The Likud first broke through the Alignment barrier in early March, shortly before the prime minister's U.S. trip, and was neck-and-neck since then, rising steadily above the Alignment after April 26. Whether Rabin or Peres headed the list, asserted the 61-year-old expert, it would have made no difference.

The percentage of undecided, "no vote" and "no comment" voters was very high before the elections, according to Prof. Guttmann's charts. Most of the undecided felt the same way about foreign policy as those who said they'd vote for the Alignment. On domestic policy, most of the undecided supported the positions favoured by Likud voters. Thus, he concluded, the internal problems swayed the undecided vote and helped the Likud.

The millions of pounds spent by the parties on campaign propaganda were a waste of money, he continued. It did, however, "preserve the freedom of the press by putting money in newspapers' bank accounts."

Prof. Guttmann also doubts whether the Begin-Peres debate had any effect on the elections' outcome.

He had warm praise for the efforts of TV House in covering the returns. Its use of statistician Hanoach Smith and the British TV system of counting votes dropped in mock ballot boxes in 25 polling stations selected as a representative sample was "the safest thing to do." As long as the stations chosen were representative, he said, you'd have to get accurate results.

The professor refused to comment on specific polls conducted by others that fell far from the mark. "But it shows that some questions must be asked about private polling."

His crystal ball computers cannot predict which parties will form a government coalition. "The voters," he said, "are now helpless. From now on, everything is in the hands of the politicians."

Lea Levavi adds from Tel Aviv: Another pollster said opinion polls are never "wrong." Rafael Gil of Post Research Associates, when asked why pre-election polls had predicted a Labour Alignment victory, said: "The trouble is that people look at polls as if they were forecasts."

"The poll is accurate only at the moment it is taken. If something happens between the poll and the election, the helicopter disaster or the television debate, for instance — the whole picture can change," he said.

If the polls cannot forecast election results, what is the point of publishing them?

"The newspapers pressure us for them because it's a game everyone likes to play...I have never been in favour of publishing these polls in the press, because I think their only valid function is to give the parties material about what the public is thinking at the moment the poll is taken," Gil said.

His firm, however, prepared the polls published in "Ha'aretz." "I'll tell you honestly why we did it. We work on a yearly contract with 'Ha'aretz' and we can't refuse to do pre-election polls when it's 'hot news,' since we do polls all year on what people think about the borders, or about President Carter. The difference is that Israelis don't vote for Carter and so they can't 'test us' by comparing yesterday's poll to today's election results."

A researcher at the Dahaf Research Institute was willing to admit the polls had been wrong — possibly because his firm did not publish polls in the press, but prepared them only for the Alignment. The researcher said some of the errors are statistical — i.e., the way "undecided" votes are divided up among the parties in guessing at the number of seats each party will receive, or the coefficient used to make an educated statistical guess about public opinion in kibbutzim or Arab villages, where the pollsters do not penetrate.

The selling of the parties

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Advertising firms yesterday claimed credit for the successful campaigns of the Likud and the Democratic Movement for Change (DMC), while the Alignment's publicity advisers absolved themselves of responsibility for the party's loss by claiming that the politicians had failed to take their advice.

Michael Kaufman of OK Advertising, who handled publicity for the DMC, said the campaign first tried to create the idea in the public's mind that a new political star was rising and that it should be watched. Later publicity stressed that the DMC would do things in various fields, such as the economy, security, changing the electoral system, and so on, said Kaufman.

Moshe "Midi" Dabari of Dabari said there were several reasons for the Likud's success. First, "We created a new, and a much more favourable image for Menahem Begin. A few weeks ago most people knew him only as a politician; he had always

erected a high wall between his life in the political arena and his family life. But we persuaded him to change. We showed him with his wife, with his family, relaxing at home wearing slippers. A new concept of him as a man emerged," said Machover.

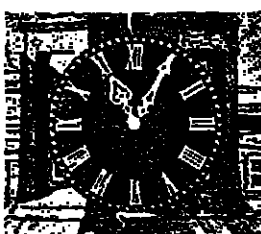
"Second, we hammered away again and again on two themes: the time was ripe to change the government, and the Likud was the one political power capable of doing this."

One of the Alignment's two main publicity directors — he prefers not to be identified — believes the Alignment lost so heavily because its leaders failed "to take our advice."

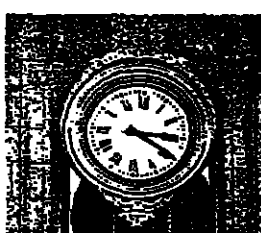
"The Alignment should have given us the general thrust of their ideas and let us work out the details. But their leaders tried to do the work for which they had hired professionals."

"They launched a campaign attacking the other parties, without first showing up their own political base. For example, they did not try to give a good explanation for the foreign currency account of Yitzhak Rabin."

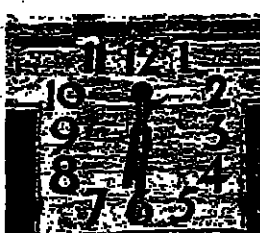
As you will have guessed, this is an advertisement of the Swiss national airline.



Amsterdam Every day at 11:05 hours, the clock at the Mini Tower indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland. And also at 17:45, 21:15, and 22:05.



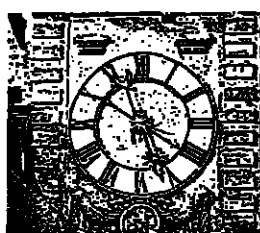
Barcelona Every day at 15:20 hours, the clock at the Tower of Calatrava indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland. And also at 16:30.



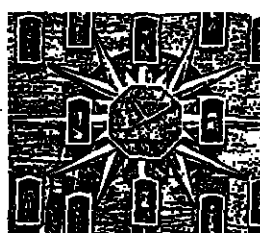
Basel Seventeen times every week, the clock at the Splendour indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for 11 destinations.



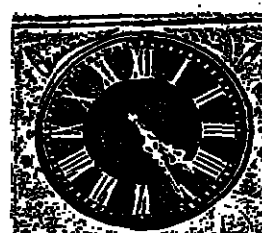
Belgrade Every day at 15:20 hours, the clock at the Tower of Kalemegdan indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland.



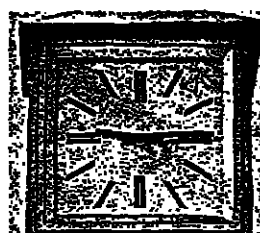
Berne Every day at 05:20 hours, the clock at the Tower of Zytglogge indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland. And also at 06:30, 09:00, 10:00, 12:00, 14:25, 15:50, 17:00, and 19:30.



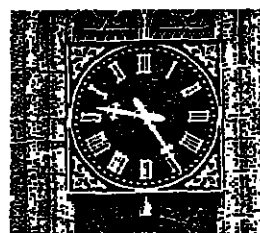
Brussels Every day at 11:10 hours, the clock at the Atomium indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland. And also at 16:50, 21:20, and 22:05.



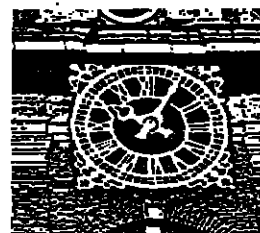
Bucharest Every Monday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday at 16:25 hours, the clock at the Ministry of Agriculture indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland.



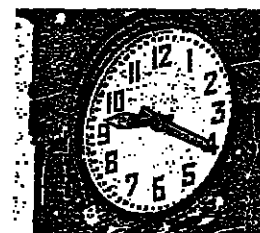
Budapest Every day at 09:15 hours, the clock at the Pest and the Margaret Bridge indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland.



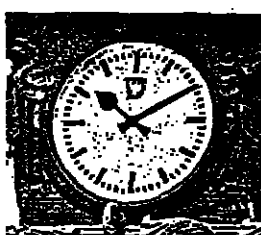
Cologne Six times every week at 09:25 hours, the clock at the City Hall indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland.



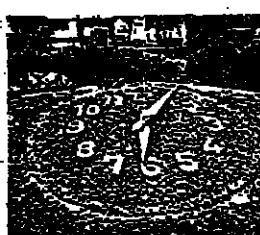
Copenhagen Every day at 10:05 hours, the clock at the Saviour's Church indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland. And also at 12:15 and 18:55.



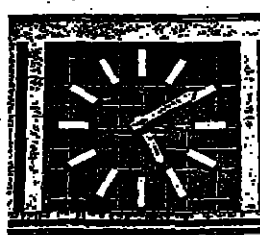
Dusseldorf Every day at 08:20 hours, the Water Gauge Clock on the Rhine indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland. And also at 13:25, 16:20, and 20:05.



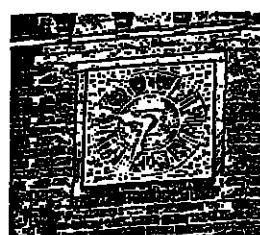
Frankfurt Every day at 10:10 hours, the Little Clock Tower indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland. And also at 16:25, 20:50, and 21:00.



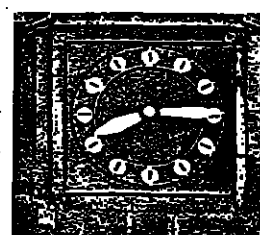
Geneva Three hundred and twenty-four times every week, the Flower Clock indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for 61 destinations.



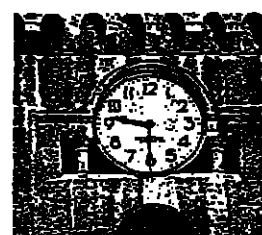
Genoa Six times every week at 09:50 hours, the clock at the Grattacielo indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland.



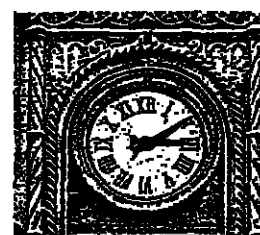
Hamburg Every day at 09:35 hours, the clock at the Town Hall indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland.



Helsinki Every day at 08:15 hours, the clock at the Railway Station indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland.



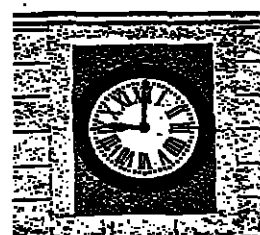
Istanbul Every day at 09:30 hours, the clock on the portal of the University Gardens indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland. Also every Friday at 16:00 and every Sunday at 15:50.



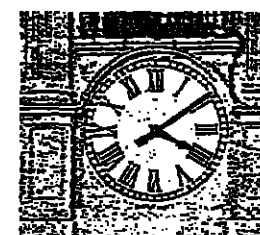
Lisbon Every day at 15:10 hours, the clock at the Rossio Railway Station indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland.



London Every day at 10:05 hours, the clock at the Portico Sol indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland. And also at 11:10, 15:05, 15:55, 19:55, 20:00, and five times every week at 22:00.



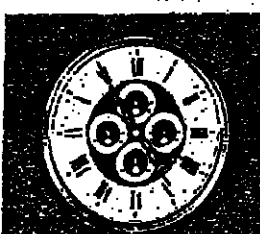
Madrid Every day at 09:00 hours, the clock at the Puerta del Sol indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland. And also at 16:50.



Malaga Five times every week at 16:10 hours, the clock at the Cathedral indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland.



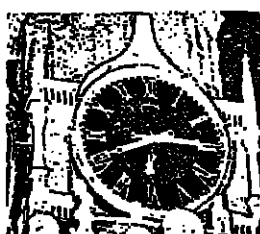
Manchester Every day at 09:15 hours, the clock at the Town Hall indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland.



Marseille Every day at 16:55 hours, the clock at the Palais de la Bourse indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland.



Milan Every day at 09:50 hours, the clock at the Central Station indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland. And also at 13:10, 16:35, and 20:15.



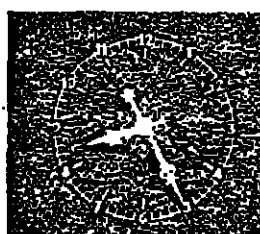
Moscow Every Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday at 09:25 hours, the clock in the Kremlin Tower indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland.



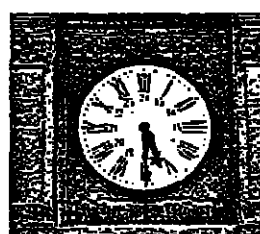
Munich Every day at 09:35 hours, the clock at the Town Hall indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland. And also at 13:10 and 20:20.



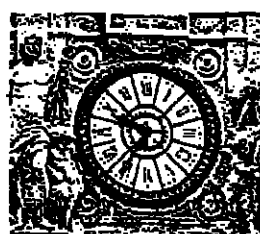
Nice Every day at 18:00 hours, the clock of the Saint-François Tower indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland. And also at 20:45.



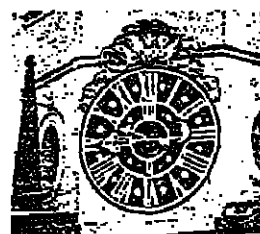
Oslo Every day at 08:25 hours, the clock of the Town Hall indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland.



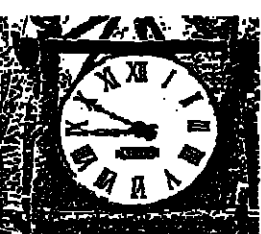
Palma de Mallorca Every day at 17:30 hours, the clock of the Town Hall indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland.



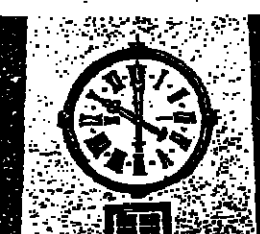
Paris Every day at 09:35 hours, the clock at the Hotel de St. Stephen indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland. And also ten times every day.



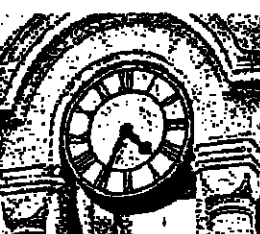
Prague Six times every week at 08:45 hours, the clock at the Loreta Church indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland.



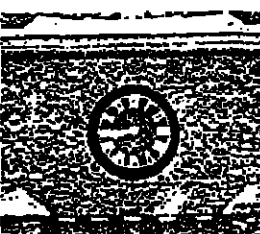
Rome Every day at 08:50 hours, the clock at the Villa Borghese indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland. And also at 09:30, 14:30, and 20:15.



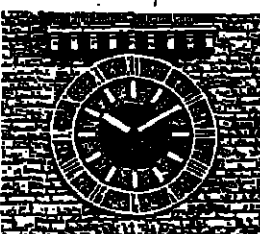
Salzburg Every day at 10:00 hours, the clock at the Town Hall indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland.



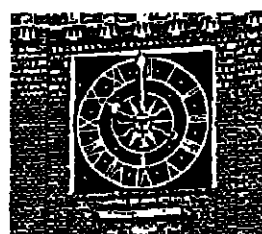
Sofia Every Tuesday and Friday at 16:35 hours, the clock at the Central Hall indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland.



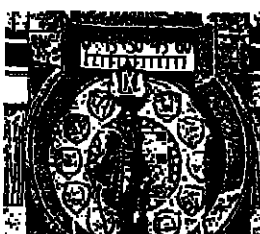
Stockholm Every day at 08:45 hours, the clock at the Central Hall indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland.



Stuttgart Every day at 10:10 hours, the clock at the Central Hall indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland. And also at 13:35 and 20:30.



Vienna Every day at 09:25 hours, the clock at the Hofburg indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland. And also at 13:25 and 20:30.



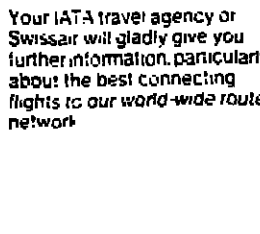
Warsaw Every Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday at 16:50 hours, the clock at the Kings Palace indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland. And also every Friday at 16:50.



Zagreb Every day at 16:45 hours, the clock at the Cathedral of St. Peter indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for Switzerland.



Zurich Five hundred and eleven times every week, the clock at St. Peter's indicates the departure of a Swissair plane for 64 destinations.



Your IATA travel agency or Swissair will gladly give you further information, particularly about the best connecting flights to our world-wide route network.

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Soviet Germans stage emigration 'invasion'

MOSCOW (Reuters). — Eight Soviet Germans fought their way past police guards into the West German Embassy here yesterday and asked for help to leave the Soviet Union.

About 35 uniformed and plainclothes police waited all day outside the mission in a quiet central Moscow street while the eight talked to West German consular officials. The ethnic Germans, all from the Soviet Central Asian republic of Kirghizia, told reporters inside the embassy that they had all been repeatedly refused permission to emigrate to West Germany.

"We do not feel at home. We want to live among German people," one of the Germans, Dmitri Driediger, said.

A ninth man was arrested in a fierce two-minute struggle with police guards who tried to stop the group entering the embassy.

The three guards were taken by surprise when the Soviet Germans marched silently across the road from a park to the mission as it was opening for the day.

The eight Germans, who belong to a community of about two million living mainly in central Asia and Siberia, said they had all renounced their Soviet citizenship in an attempt to obtain exit visas.

Jakob Schults, a spokesman for the eight, said: "It's our last attempt — we are ready to be arrested. For us it is the last chance."

An embassy spokesman said the eight, aged between 30 and 50, spent the day discussing their cases with consular officials. It was not known how long they would remain inside the embassy, he added.

In 1974, two Soviet citizens spent the night inside the West German Embassy after police broke up a demonstration by ethnic Germans in the mission's grounds.

The Red Cross has estimated that about 200,000 of the Soviet Union's ethnic Germans wish to emigrate. A total of 9,826 left last year — the highest figure for a single year — and some 2,000 left in the first four months of this year.

The Germans, many of whom were exiled to central Asia during the Second World War, are mostly descended from settlers who came to Russia in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Last March a small group of ethnic Germans held a brief demonstration on Moscow's Red Square, for emigration rights. They were immediately arrested and sent back to the Republic of Kazakhstan.

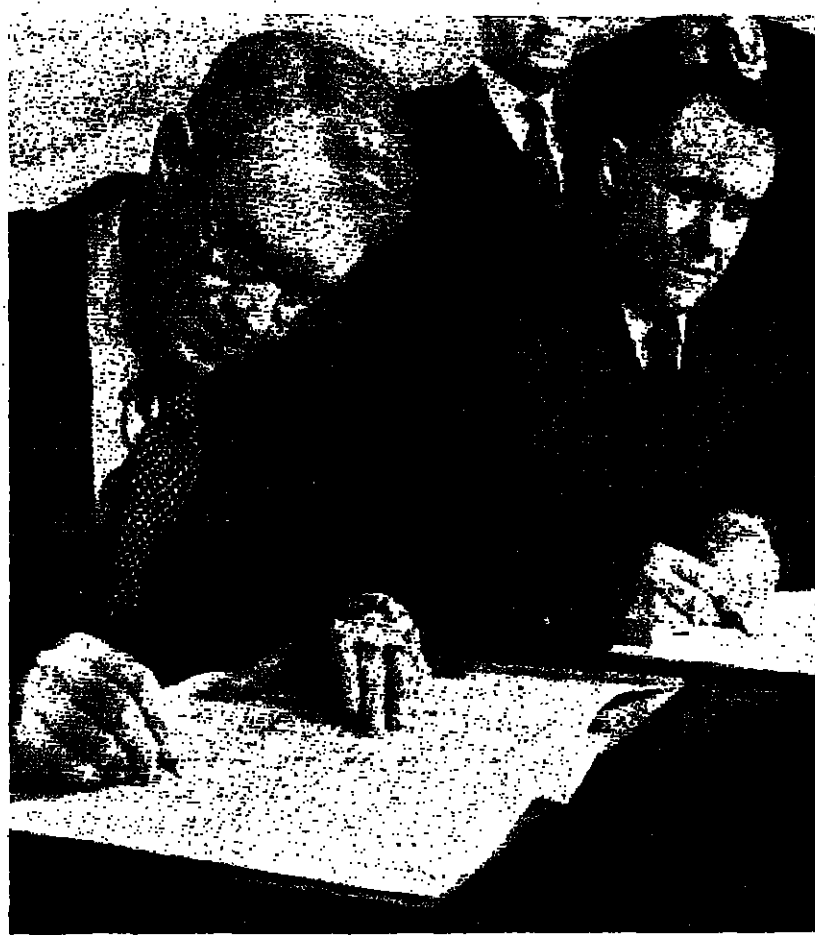
Police guard all embassies and foreigners' apartment blocks in Moscow and subject Soviet citizens to close identity checks before allowing them to enter.

The U.S. Embassy recently protested to the foreign ministry that police guards had been preventing Soviet citizens from entering U.S. premises.

Uganda exiles form anti-Amin unit

LONDON (AP). — Former Ugandan army officers and political leaders living in exile in Britain have formed a self-styled "undercover organization" to topple President Idi Amin, the Uganda Committee for Human Rights said yesterday.

The disclosure followed a report by the International Commission of Jurists on Tuesday that claimed between 30,000 and 50,000 persons were slaughtered in Uganda in the first two years of Amin's rule.



AGREEMENT. — U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance (left) and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko open their first bilateral disarmament talks in Geneva yesterday by signing extension of 1972 agreement for cooperation in outer space. Earlier they took part in signing of 26-nation convention banning use of man-made weather disasters in war.

(UPI telephoto)

Vance, Gromyko pledge not to make waves

GENEVA (Reuters). — The U.S., the USSR and 26 other nations yesterday pledged they would never attack each other by starting man-made storms, earthquakes or tidal waves.

U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko were among the 26 special envoys here who signed a UN pact banning artificial use of the weather as a weapon of war.

UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim said the treaty, negotiated last year by the Geneva disarmament conference, was aimed at sparing mankind from "the disastrous results of new and terrible means of environmental warfare."

He said: "Arms control and disarmament are the overriding issues facing the international community."

This convention shows that governments, with all their differences and divisions, can achieve progress little by little.

The "convention on the prohibition of military or any other hostile use of environmental modification techniques" is the first accord to emerge from the slow-moving Geneva disarmament conference for four years.

Waldheim said: "From the very first resolution passed by the General Assembly in 1946, the UN has striven to achieve the goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control."

"Viewed in this long-term perspective, the convention is a modest one, for it points up that we still have far to go before we reach that goal."

Rosebery sells 'furniture' to pay tax

MENTMORE, England (AP). — One thousand well-heeled bidders from around the world offered sky-high prices for 18th century furniture yesterday, as the sale of the fabulous Rothschild collection at Mentmore Towers broke records on its first day.

A writing desk built for Marie Antoinette was bought back by the Palace of Versailles, a Louis XV desk attracted the highest bid ever

for a piece of furniture, and a 200-year-old mechanical orange tree with singing birds went for \$153,000 to the regret of its owner, the Earl of Rosebery.

Lord Rosebery, 47, whose grandfather Baron Meyer de Rothschild assembled the collection from palaces around Europe, is selling both the 75-room, Mentmore Towers and all its contents to pay inheritance taxes.

Carter warns South Africa to end domination of South West Africa

FRESNO, California (Reuters). — President Carter has warned South Africa to give up its domination of Namibia or face "strong actions" by five major western nations in the UN.

Carter told a television interview show in Los Angeles Tuesday (reported briefly in an early edition of The Post yesterday) that Britain, France, West Germany and Canada had agreed to join the U.S. in endorsing such a stand on Namibia (South West Africa).

The former German colony is administered by Pretoria under a disputed UN mandate.

The president said the message would be delivered personally to South African Prime Minister John Vorster by Vice-President Walter Mondale in Vienna this week.

He said Mondale was going to give Vorster "a request — a little stronger than a request — that if you don't do something about Namibia then we are going to take strong actions

against you in the United Nations."

Carter's statement was in answer to a student's question about human rights in South Africa.

Carter said the U.S. was doing all it could to persuade South Africa to abandon apartheid but said that "short of war" the U.S. had no authority to force the Pretoria government to end racial segregation.

In Namibia, meanwhile, a resounding "yes" vote for a multi-racial interim government was recorded in 11 of 18 districts in a whites-only referendum which took place on Tuesday.

The referendum asked whites to approve or reject the constitution mapped out for the west coast nation by the representatives of its 11 racial groups, including whites and mulattos.

Mondale arrived in Vienna yesterday. On his arrival from visits with

political leaders in Spain and Portugal, Mondale praised efforts by the two Iberian nations to rebuild democracy. He omitted any mention of southern African racial problems.

Mondale will meet Vorster today and Friday to discuss the region, which is in the grips of guerrilla warfare between blacks and whites. Mondale and Vorster reserved the first day of their stay in Austria for courtesy calls on their Austrian hosts, before tackling the issues.

Vorster, who arrived on Tuesday, took a hard line in an Austrian television interview.

He rejected foreign interference in South Africa and South West Africa, which South Africa controls in defiance of the UN, and he said Rhodesia's future "is a matter to be solved between black and white Rhodesians. It is not for South Africa to prescribe ... what solutions and what forms of government they should have."

(Reuters, UPI)

Zambian troops fire mortar shells into Rhodesia

SALISBURY (Reuters). — Zambian forces yesterday fired a barrage of mortar shells across the Zambezi River into Rhodesian territory, official sources said here.

The sources said the shells exploded in bush country near the northwest Rhodesian border town of Victoria Falls. There were no reports of damage or casualties. Rhodesian security force headquarters here declined immediate comment on the attack.

The mortar barrage was reported just two days after Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda announced that he had placed his army on the alert and that a state of war existed between Zambia and Rhodesia.

President Kaunda's declaration of war followed a warning by Prime Minister Ian Smith that Rhodesian troops would conduct "hot pursuit" operations into Zambian territory if guerrilla incursions from Zambia continued.

Official sources in Salisbury said mortars with a range of about five kilometres were used in yesterday's attack. Unconfirmed reports said the shells fell closer to the town of Victoria Falls than the official reports indicated.

Victoria Falls — a popular tourist resort — is usually swarming with Rhodesian troops. Hundreds of visitors were in the town during the bombardment, but a spokesman for a local hotel referred to the attack as "a small bit of nonsense."

Animosity is in the air in Geneva

By PETER OSNOS

New Service Washington Post

MOSCOW. — Whatever comes out of this week's high-level U.S.-Soviet talks in Geneva — and the portents are not good — it will be difficult to dispel the animosity towards the U.S. that has dominated Kremlin attitudes in the early months of the Carter era.

Barely a day seems to go by now without some official Soviet protest over an American action. This entails summoning a senior member of the U.S. embassy staff to receive a formal complaint at the Foreign Ministry on matters such as private showings of the film "Doctor Zhivago" to broadcast by Radio Liberty and the U.S. refusal to give visas to Russian trade unionists.

Americans are doing a good deal of protesting also: about the way, for instance, Soviet police have blocked access to U.S. apartments, preventing Russians from entering. Or about the harassment of Joseph Presel, a first secretary in the political section who was accused in the government newspaper "Izvestia" of being a spy and who is now followed wherever he goes and subjected to threatening telephone calls.

From afar, these may easily be dismissed as routine matters.

But the accumulation of irritants reflects a malaise in Soviet-American relations that has become very pronounced, a reversion here to attitudes that prevailed before the first superpower summit in Moscow exactly five years ago this month.

The implications are profound. Soviet interest in accommodation with the U.S. was based in large measure on improving commercial ties. Yet figures for the early months of 1977 show a drop of 25 per cent in trade compared to last year, mainly because of reduced grain sales. Non-agricultural trade is completely stalled at a relatively low level.

As recently as last fall, Soviet Communist Party leader Leonid Brezhnev still spoke with enthusiasm about the prospects for economic relations if only the Jackson Amendment restricting the terms of most-favoured-nation status was withdrawn. Now there is only sullen silence on the subject.

Criticism in the press of U.S. "imperialism" around the globe has been raised to a crescendo close to that prevailing in the depths of the Cold War — the sort of propaganda barrage that may well be preparing the

Soviet population for sacrifices that will have to be made should the arms race be stepped up. Life in the U.S. is presented in the darkest terms.

It may only be coincidental that the Soviets have undertaken in 1977 the most sweeping crackdown on dissidents since before detente. But the fact underscores Kremlin anger over President Jimmy Carter's actions, particularly in the first few weeks of his administration, in support of human rights activists here.

Moscow may well have moved anyway because of its sensitivity over renewed intellectual unrest in Eastern Europe and a desire to show firmness in the months before the June Belgrade conference where the results of the Helsinki accord on human rights and other issues will be reviewed. But there seems no doubt that Carter's intervention exacerbated the situation.

Take the case of Anatoly Shcharansky, a 29-year-old computer specialist. Shcharansky was the informal spokesman for Jews who had sought permission to emigrate and been turned down. He was also active in the unofficial group monitoring Soviet compliance with the Helsinki provisions — a principal focus of the current crackdown — and he often served as a translator at dissident press conferences.

In early March he and several other prominent Jewish "refuseniks" were accused in "Izvestia" by a "repentant" dissident of working for the CIA. On March 15 Shcharansky was arrested and officials have since implied that he could be charged with treason.

The affair also has anti-Semitic overtones, many Westerners here say, since everyone mentioned in the article, including the Americans, is Jewish.

The purpose of the Shcharansky episode appears to be to discredit Americans as an answer to Carter's challenge on human rights. Certainly so provocative an attack on U.S. activities in Moscow would not be considered expedient if relations between the two countries were better.

How much the bitterness will affect Soviet positions in Geneva is hard to say — if only because Soviet sources seem so much warier when talking to Americans these days.

Western analysts report that they have seen nothing to indicate that the Kremlin is prepared to modify its rejection of two American SALT proposals put forth when Vance was in Moscow six weeks ago.

Chilean junta ready for another prisoner exchange with Soviets

SANTIAGO (Reuters). — Chile said on Tuesday night it was ready to release 13 prisoners in exchange for an equal number of political prisoners in the Soviet Union.

A Foreign Ministry statement said it would leave the Copenhagen-based Sakharov Human Rights Committee to choose the Soviet detainees who should be freed in the exchange.

The statement said the Chileans to be released had been tried and convicted here for "violating state security." It stressed that they were "common prisoners" not political detainees.

Last year Chile's military government released detained Chilean Communist Party leader Luis Corvalan in exchange for Soviet dissident Vladimir Bukovsky.

The Sakharov committee, which is named after dissident Soviet physicist Andrei Sakharov, put forward the original proposal for the Corvalan-Bukovsky swap.

Chile has in the past said that with the release of Corvalan it only holds

one other political prisoner — former Communist senator Jorge Minetti.

It has repeatedly offered to exchange Minetti in return for the release from a Havana jail of Huber Matos, a former top aide of Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro; but Cuba has rejected the deal.

The Foreign Ministry statement said Chile had agreed to the release and exile of 13 Chilean prisoners "tried and convicted for infringing state security laws, arms control and the penal code, on condition that the Soviet Union allows 13 dissident intellectuals detained for a long time and in precarious health to leave the country."

In April the committee provided a list of 13 political prisoners in Soviet jails for a proposed swap with imprisoned Chileans. The list included Soviet Baptist leader Georgy Vins, writer Vladimir Oshpov, psychiatrist Semyon Glusmand and three women.

Soviet-Jewish scientist is force fed, tried for vagrancy

MOSCOW (UPI). — Jewish activist Yosef Begun went on trial for vagrancy yesterday, but the judge quickly called a halt when he demanded a new lawyer.

Friends of the scientist said they caught only a brief glimpse of Begun when he was led out of the courtroom. He is in the 60th day of a hunger strike, but is being force fed by authorities.

The friends said the judge postponed the trial to June 8 after Begun complained that he was not satisfied with his state-appointed attorney. A new lawyer will be appointed, they said.

Begun was then returned to the prison cell where he has been held

since March. Several dozen supporters and western correspondents attempted to gain access to the courtroom for the trial, but they were turned away on the grounds that there was no space.

Begun, 45, a specialist in using electronics to collate statistics was fired from his institute after applying in April 1971 for permission to emigrate to Israel.

In March he was arrested along with fellow activist Benyamin Fain when they tried to enter the U.S. embassy. Both were released, but Begun was arrested four days later and charged with vagrancy.

Fain said yesterday that Begun

had evidence that he was employed during the period after he was fired, including letters asking permission to pay taxes (the letters were rejected). Begun gave private lessons to students to make a living.

It is common for Jews holding important posts to lose their jobs after applying to emigrate to Israel. They then face the possibility of being charged with parasitism.

Begun's wife complained that she has been denied any communication with her husband since he was arrested. Word of the hunger strike reached her from a prisoner who shared Begun's cell and was recently released.

She also complained that his fami-

ly was given no time to prepare for the trial.

Among the supporters who waited outside the courtroom were Michael and Lois Krop of North Miami Beach, Florida. The Krops said they had participated in a sympathy hunger strike in Florida before coming to the Soviet Union.

"I feel very strongly about this poor man, whom we met during a trip three years ago," said Mrs. Krop. "We heard he is on a hunger strike and came to offer our support."

Mrs. Krop attempted to get into the courtroom but was turned away by militiamen at the court door.

Sirhan wants to end long silence on Kennedy killing

LOS ANGELES (AP). — Convicted assassin Sirhan Sirhan, who has maintained silence for eight years, now says he wants to talk about the 1963 killing of U.S. Senator Robert Kennedy.

Sirhan, serving a life sentence, sent word through his attorney on Tuesday that he would like to meet with Los Angeles County supervisors Baxter Ward and Kenneth Fahn.

The invitation was relayed by attorney Godfrey Isaac as the supervisors opened public hearings in their investigation of unsolved aspects of the Sirhan case.

Isaac said Sirhan was familiar with the two, apparently from news reports. Both supervisors appeared startled at the invitation, but agreed to talk with Sirhan.

Sirhan, a former West Banker, was convicted of the Kennedy assassination in 1969 after a trial in which his attorneys contended the defendant suffered from "diminished mental capacity." The attorneys admitted, however, that Sirhan shot Kennedy in the pantry of the Ambassador Hotel on June 5, 1963.

Since then, speculation has arisen that a "second gun" may have been fired that night by someone else.

Kranz, appointed by the supervisors last year to do a thorough review of the case, issued a 60-page report last April 5 concluding that Sirhan was the lone assassin.

At Tuesday's hearing, three men who have conducted their own investigations condemned the Kranz report as misleading and shallow. Dr. Robert Joling, a forensic scientist, Paul Schrade, who was hit by a bullet, and former U.S. Congressman Alard Lowenstein told the board the possibility of a second gun still exists.

John Conteh deprived of world boxing title

LONDON (UPI). — The World Boxing Council has stripped Britain's John Conteh of his world light-heavyweight boxing title because of Conteh's failure to fulfil his contract to meet Miguel Cuello of Argentina in Monte Carlo Saturday in a defence of his crown.

It is now expected that Jesse Burnett, the world's No. 3 challenger for the light-heavyweight title, will meet Cuello in Monte Carlo on Saturday night.

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T.A. MACCABI WINS 3-2

Malmillian shines against Ipswich

By PAUL KOHN
Post Sports Reporter

TEL AVIV. — A masterly performance in scheming by Uri Malmillian yesterday inspired Tel Aviv Maccabi to a 3-2 win over Ipswich, the English First Division club, after trailing 0-2 until the 65th minute of the game.

Sixteen thousand fans at Bloomfield Stadium saw five great goals, after a slow start to this friendly end-of-the-season encounter. Ipswich showed two flashes of their famous sharpness in front of goal, but otherwise showed little of the dash associated with this feared team in English league games.

In the 38th minute, goalkeeper Cooper saved acrobatically from Peretz, in Tel Aviv Maccabi's first dangerous attack. But in the 42nd minute, John Wark cracked in a bolt of a shot from 25 metres that left the home defence and goalkeeper Sorinov standing.

In the 53rd minute, Malmillian took on the Ipswich defence and sent

a perfect lob onto the head of Damti, only for his weak header to go over. How to head a ball was taught the home side by Whymark, who flashed a header past Sorinov from 12 metres.

Malmillian was a class unto himself in the Tel Aviv Maccabi colours. In the 58th minute he took a corner which Zvi Rosen hooked into the Ipswich goal only for defender Mills to save as if he were the goalie. Malmillian hammered in the spot kick.

Maccabi was now back in the game and 10 minutes later the Tel Avivians scored a fine goal. Malmillian speedily took the ball out of defence, sent a pass to Damti who laid on an easy chance for Tabak to equalize.

The cheering had hardly died down when Maccabi took the lead. A Malmillian corner found Damti, and his header looped just inside the Ipswich goal. After that, Maccabi defenders soaked up all that Ipswich could throw at them in the last 10 minutes.

SOCCER PREVIEW / Paul Kohn

T.A. meets Jaffa Maccabi

TEL AVIV. — The big game in the National Soccer League Saturday will be between leaders Tel Aviv Maccabi and second-place Jaffa Maccabi at Bloomfield Stadium.

But of no less interest will be games in other parts of the country which will be crucial in deciding the relegation struggle. Haifa Maccabi travel to Yehud in a last-gasp effort to haul themselves above the red line. The Hifaitees were unlucky to lose both points to Beersheba Hapoel last week and now face a side that lost 0-3 in Acre. As Yehud Hapoel have no relegation or championship worries, one can envisage a fighting Haifa Maccabi salvaging a point.

Jerusalem Hapoel play in Petah Tikva, where Maccabi are certain for second-division soccer next season. Here too the visitors are still desperate for points, and if they keep up their keen running for every ball they could come away with both points.

Beersheba Hapoel have a much tougher task in Kiryat Haim, where Haifa Hapoel will be fresh from a 4-0 away win. The Negev side has won its last three games; and, while in this form, Beersheba Avitan and Tel Aviv Maccabi are likely to come away with a point.

Kfar Sava Hapoel were unlucky to lose against Tel Aviv Betar last week, and they return to their home ground to face Tel Aviv Hapoel. They face a team in form and will have a struggle on their hands even to hold the Tel Avivians to a draw.

Both Tel Aviv Maccabi and Jaffa Maccabi won their games last week

and are already certain to represent the Israel league in the European Intertoto summer soccer competition. Tel Aviv Maccabi looked their best in Givatayim last Saturday; and if they can again produce their relaxed style of play, Peretz, Tabak and Mizrahi may prove too sharp for the Jaffa defence.

The game in Netanya between Netanya Maccabi and Tel Aviv Betar may well decide which of these clubs will end the season in third place. Tel Aviv Betar have been in great form in recent weeks, which has shot them among the leaders. Romano and Sharabani have begun to click in the Betar attack, but Netanya Maccabi are an excellent home team. Spiegler and Lavie can lead Netanya Maccabi to another home win.

Jerusalem Betar return to the capital to face Acre Hapoel. The northern side have become a tough nut to crack, and with Danny Neuman absent from the Betar team it appears to lack bite in attack. This will probably turn out to be a low-scoring match.

SPORTS GUIDE

Haifa Hapoel v. Beersheba Hapoel 7.30 p.m.
Petah Tikva v. Jerusalem Hapoel 7.30 p.m.
Tel Aviv Maccabi v. Tel Aviv Betar 7.30 p.m.
Kfar Sava Hapoel v. Tel Aviv Hapoel 7.30 p.m.
Jerusalem Hapoel v. Petah Tikva 7.30 p.m.
Tel Aviv Maccabi v. Jaffa Maccabi 7.30 p.m.
Jerusalem Betar v. Acre Hapoel 7.30 p.m.
Yehud Hapoel v. Haifa Maccabi 7.30 p.m.
Tel Aviv Hapoel v. Beersheba Hapoel 7.30 p.m.
Tel Aviv Maccabi v. Jaffa Maccabi 7.30 p.m.
Jerusalem Betar v. Acre Hapoel 7.30 p.m.
Yehud Hapoel v. Haifa Maccabi 7.30 p.m.
Tel Aviv Hapoel v. Beersheba Hapoel 7.30 p.m.

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AT ALL HOTELS

TEL AVIV STOCKS

Market remains steady

TEL AVIV. — The stock exchange yesterday reacted with equanimity to the election victory of the Likud. The stability of prices reflected well on the maturity of the public which did not react sharply in either direction. Before the opening gong had sounded, the management committee of the exchange had weighed whether to halt trading for the day, but it eventually decided to go ahead.

Financials were firm with some gains, as in the case of Hapoalim and Bank Leumi. Mortgage banks were slightly ahead, on balance, but without any major changes. The same picture was evidenced by insurance companies, where prices changed very little in the order of not more than one point, on the upside.

The utilities and services segment did not fare as well because some fairly heavy profit-taking affected the list. Delek reg. was 34 lower at 338 while the bearer shares were 45 lower at 320. There was no apparent reason for the sell-off. Israel Cold Storage ILA shares continued on a "sellers only" basis and were fixed lower at 1,730. The ILA shares were down to 1,400. Israel Electric was down a full 60 points to 520.

Land development and real estate issues were mixed. Perhaps reflecting an indecisiveness on the part of the public, many of the issues remained unchanged. ILDC, however, lost 11 to 159. Yisro continued to fluctuate and was lower at 24 for a 16-point loss. Neot Aviv, the subject of legal proceedings regarding the liquidation of the firm, was eight higher at 286. Israel Citrus Plantations was 23 lower at 502.

Industrial issues had a good session as a number of shares achieved gains. Elco IL2.5 was 10 better at 410. Elcra IL5 gained 15 to 460 while the

attendant options were "buyers only" and were upped to 242. Argaman was five ahead at 280 but Ata "C" shares eased by five to 187. Cables turned softer by five to 165. Levin-Epstein continued its recent strong action as the shares were "buyers only" and continued to rise to 325 for an overall gain of 35 points. Paper Mills eased by nine to 281. Alliance lost 55 to 860.

Investment companies were mixed. Central Trade advanced by 20 to 890. Paz Investments was 10 lower at 480. Wolfson IL40 was four higher at 178. Discount Investments eked out a one-pointed to 272 as Hapoalim and Bank Leumi were unchanged.

Export Investment was five higher at 177 as Koor recovered to 1,400 after a 85-point gain. Piryon was 20 lower at 580.

The investment public is still preoccupied with thoughts of a large devaluation, as evidenced by the continuous gains achieved in the price of the Nafat. Yesterday the investment currency was nine agorot higher at 11.58 after a demand of almost \$500,000.

Index-linked bonds were actively traded but prices were relatively stable.

The General Index of Share Prices fell by 0.45 per cent to 127.76.

Most active issues

Hapoalim	225-1.00L.083.000
Leumi	190.5-0.5
Bank Leumi	248.5-0.5
Shares traded:	12.20.7m.
Bonds:	12.20.7m.
Nafat:	11.58-0.09
Demand:	5470.000
Turnover:	512.000

Solal Bonoh 10% pref.	b	708	708
Property & Building	r	238	241
Leumi	b	285	285
Mehadrin	b	553	558
Leumi 8% pref.	b	526	526
Neot Aviv	b	285	278
Pir Or Ltd.	b	601	606
Rassco 8% pref.	r	220	221
Rassco	r	200	205

INDUSTRIAL	r	880	915
Alliance - B	r	410	400
Elco - 2.5	r	380	345
Argaman - 5	r	320	317.5
Ata - C	r	187	182
Duke	b	690	690
Elco Wire & Cable	b	165	179
Teva	r	1375	1450
Chem. & Phosphates	r	320	325
Levin-Epstein	r	320	325
Moller Textile	r	250	250
Paper Mills	r	281	290
Asala "B"	r	221	224
Nechustan 8% pref.	b	570	570
Elite	r	320	320
Sherman - 8% pref.	b	275	285
Frutaron	r	125	125
Frutaron New	r	175	175
Elion IL2	r	610	610

INVESTMENT COMPANIES	r	230	237
Elgar	b	280	280
Elion Central Trade	b	380	370
Hapoalim	b	278	278
Paz	b	480	480
Wolfson IL40	b	175	174
Ampa	r	220	220
Discount	b	272	271
United Mirabhi	b	280	280
Bank Leumi	b	281	281
Piryon	r	580	600
Export Bank	r	177	172
Clal	r	280	280
Clal Industries	r	284	285

FUEL, OIL AND UTILITIES	r	1545	1600
Naphta OTC	r	1793	1775
Lapidot OTC	r	330	330
Jordan Exploration	r	2980	3120
Jordan Warrants	r	530	565
Delek C	r	530	565
Israel Electric Corp.	r	520	570

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Jerusalem's hotels reflect its character

By HAIM SHAPIRO
Jerusalem Post Reporter

JERUSALEM. Israel's political Capital since December, 1949, did not become the tourism capital until after June, 1967.

Until that time, most tourists didn't bother to stay overnight in the Israel side of the then-divided city. They lodged in Tel Aviv and a quick trip up to Jerusalem by bus and a few hours of touring were considered sufficient. Tour organizers here and abroad planned their clients' itineraries accordingly.

All this changed after 1967. If anything, the tourist today has too much to see.

Indeed, like Rome, Paris or Istanbul, Jerusalem is now a city in which the tourist may pick his period or field of interest. He may decide he wants to visit only Mameluk remains or those from the Second Temple period. The Christian pilgrim need only see his Jewish counterpart at whatever point of reference he chooses.

In fact, the chances are they won't even be staying in the same hotel. Christian visitors stay mainly in eastern Jerusalem. Jews in western Jerusalem. To be sure, there are numerous exceptions to this rule. The King David traditionally, and the Hilton in more recent years, tend to get the cream of the tourist trade, be it Jewish, Christian or Buddhist.

Individuals may stay anywhere they like. Many Jews are attracted to the picturesque and characteristic American Colony Hotel, though it is in an exclusively Arab section in eastern Jerusalem, and Christians are welcomed at the Jewish hotels in the western section. For the most part, however, the lines are clearly drawn.

THE HOTELS in western Jerusalem tend to be slightly more expensive. They serve kosher food and usually pay their help a bit more. For the Jewish tourists, even the non-observant, it seems important to

stay in a "Jewish" hotel. The Christians have no such preferences, and their agents take advantage of the better rates in eastern Jerusalem.

It should be noted that at the time of the Six Day War, the Jordanian sector of Jerusalem had 1,750 "recommended" hotel rooms, and the Israeli side had 1,006. The former has since added only 315 rooms, for a total of 2,065, while the latter has more than tripled, to a total of 3,232 rooms.

Most plush of the eastern Jerusalem hotels is the Intercontinental, built on the Mount of Olives during the Jordanian administration. Despite rumours to the contrary, sales manager Arye Kramer says he has a letter from the Rabbinate attesting that the hotel was not built on Jewish graves (although the now removed road going up to it was).

In point of fact, he says the Jordanians tore down a small Crusader chapel to make room for the hotel, but that didn't stop the Rumanian Patriarch from staying there when he visited Jerusalem a few years ago.

Because observant Jews avoid it in any case, the hotel sees little point in keeping kosher. It did run a kosher dairy coffee shop for a few years, but abandoned the effort when it proved unprofitable. The guests, most of them wealthy Americans from the U.S. Bible belt, appreciate having "meat" for breakfast. In fact, he says, the hotel gets a certain number of Israeli guests who come there because of the "continental cuisine." For them it is like a trip abroad, he says.

Other guests come from around the world, including the Arab countries. The hotel has received reservations which come to the Intercontinental New York office from the chain's hotels in the Persian Gulf states.

KRAMER admits that business has been good for the last few years,



TOURISTS exploring the Old City of Jerusalem.

(Emka)

although he says it is still not as flourishing as that of the chain's hotels in the European capitals. But he still recalls the lean times following the Yom Kippur War, when the hotels fought each other tooth and nail for every reservation.

Meanwhile, the Jerusalem Intercontinental may not have quite as many reservations as its European counterparts, but it is ahead of them in profits on food and beverage sales.

The Jerusalem hotel is fourth in the world chain in this area. It is surpassed only by the free-spending Gulf area. In fact, the Intercontinental has good reason to be proud of its kitchen. Chef Jaroslav Mueller last year prepared the winning menu in the country's annual cooking competition.

Another hotel that prides itself on its kitchen is the National Palace, in the heart of the east Jerusalem business district. The manager, Fuad Abu-el-Haj, says that on Fridays and Saturdays, the hotel's restaurant is filled with Israeli Jews seeking good Arab food. In addition, the hotel occasionally has Jewish guests who, he says, are for the most part members of groups made up primarily of non-Jews.

Abu el-Haj would like to bring his prices up to those of western Jerusalem. The Tourism Ministry has gradually permitted the eastern Jerusalem hotels to move in this direction. The present price gap is 12-15 per cent.

With prices equal, he says, the hotels in the Arab part of the city would be able to pay their help the same wages as those offered in western Jerusalem. As it is, he says, there is a steady seepage of workers. Usually, they stay for six months, just long enough to be trained, and then go to work in western Jerusalem.

MEANWHILE, although the bulk of the Jewish tourists continue to stream into western Jerusalem hotels, most hotel managements seem to feel it beneath their dignity to regard themselves as "Jewish" merely because they serve kosher food, and they tend to stress their "international" character.

Two major exceptions to this rule are the Orthodox-owned Centre Hotel, and the Jerusalem Plaza, managed by Canadian Pacific. Deputy manager Marty Isaacs says he greets every guest with a "Welcome Home," and that tone continues throughout the stay. The hotel features discussions with olim from the U.S. and Canada and, in response to requests from the guests, talks with Americans who have retired in Israel.

On Furim, when the city was snow-bound, the hotel responded to the crisis with an impromptu costume party. Before Pesach, guests were given candles and feathers and were invited to search for hametz in the lobby. On memorial days, the hotel has appropriate memorial observances, all well attended by the guests.

Like most hoteliers, Isaacs notes that there is little to do in Jerusalem at night. But for him at least, this is a challenge for which nightclubs are not the automatic answer.

Extradite or punish

(Continued from Wednesday)

In concurring that the appeal should be dismissed, Justice Cohn said that he had decided to give his own reasons for this as a sign of respect to the appellant's counsel who had not spared himself (or the court) in his efforts to probe the mysteries of international law on the subject of reciprocity.

Under the European Convention on Extradition, which both Israel and Switzerland had signed, he said, any party may refuse to extradite its own nationals. But the question of whether Israel should exploit this right or not is one of policy and Israel, unlike Switzerland, has left her policy on this question open, to be decided in each particular case which arises.

In the particular case under consideration, he continued, the Minister of Justice, who represents the government by virtue of the provisions of the Extradition Law, decided to consent to the extradition of the appellant, who is an Israeli citizen. This does not constitute discrimination against the appellant, since the overall policy is to ensure that fugitives from justice be brought to trial and punished and as the courts of Israel have no jurisdiction to try the appellant for the particular offense of which he has been accused in Switzerland, there is no alternative but to extradite him. Not only can no fault be found with this policy, in principle, he held, but it is anchored in an express provision of the Extradition Convention (contained in section 6 (2) thereof) which makes it a condition that a country which refuses to extradite its citizens must bring them to trial itself.

The fact, continued Justice Cohn, that the Minister of Justice saw fit to set in motion extradition proceedings in the present case is in itself an indication that he is satisfied that there is reciprocity between Israel and Switzerland.

However, held Justice Cohn, the "reciprocity" which constituted the foundation of the Minister of Justice's decision, is not necessarily the same "reciprocity" which the courts are required to establish by virtue of section 2 (1) of the Extradition Law and which may be denoted as normative reciprocity as distinguished from policy reciprocity (see Professor Feller on The Scope of Reciprocity in Extradition, Israel Law Review, 1976, vol. 10, p. 427). For while policy reciprocity can be guaranteed, to the satisfaction of the States concerned, by informal means, the normative reciprocity must be firmly anchored on the norms of the agreement—or, in the words of section 2 (1) of the Extradition Law must be "provided for in the agreement."

IN THE SUPREME COURT SITTING AS COURT OF CRIMINAL APPEALS

Before the Deputy President (Justice Landau), Justices Cohn and Aharanovich, Appellant, v. State of Israel, Respondent (Cr. A. 308/75)

Nevertheless, continued Justice Cohn, he was of the opinion that when an Israel court has to decide whether normative reciprocity exists, it cannot ignore the fact that policy reciprocity has already been proved to exist. For when laying down the criterion of "reciprocity" the Knesset intended safeguarding the sovereignty and prestige of Israel, and relied on the Government to be equally jealous thereof. The courts would therefore not make an empty letter of policy reciprocity unless satisfied that from a legal viewpoint there was no reciprocity at all.

This a priori approach, continued Justice Cohn, justifies the conclusion that there is an element of reciprocity in the very fact that there is a mutual convention on extradition, and even if one of the parties to the convention undertakes to do one thing, while another undertakes to do another, this does not derogate from this reciprocity. For the reciprocity lies in the two-way nature of the undertakings, and not necessarily in the identical nature of their content.

And as to the fact that section 2 (1) demands that there be reciprocity "on the extradition of offenders," all he could say, held Justice Cohn, is that it is sufficient for this purpose that every party to the Convention undertakes to deal with offenders in its own way, and in accordance with its own laws, in order to prevent those who escape from any particular country from escaping the course of justice. For on the international plane there is no superior advantage or preference for one system of law as distinct from another. Each country observes its own laws and allows other countries to observe theirs, and Israel, which believes in the supremacy of municipal law would not expect other countries to treat their own municipal laws in order to meet their international obligations. On the contrary Israel would take for granted that the laws of countries which signed the Convention would allow of their fulfilling the obligations they had undertaken under it. And the fact that because of differences in the systems of law these obligations might differ from those which Israel had undertaken does not derogate from their reciprocity.

The common purpose, continued Justice Cohn, of preventing offenders from escaping their just due, is attained in one of two ways: by extradition or by trial and punishment on the part of the country where the offender has taken refuge (that is "aut dedere aut punire"). This maxim of Grotius, he added, is still valid today at least in so far as those States which are party to the Extradition Convention are concerned.

LAW REPORT

Edited by Doris Lankin

ed, and it is interesting to note that Grotius based it, *inter alia*, on Biblical sources.

Justice Many concurred with his colleagues that the appeal should be dismissed.

Appeal dismissed.
Judgment given on March 21, 1977.

'Valorism' to fight inflation

Inflation is perhaps the most serious economic problem of our time. Lawyer Eliyahu Hirschberg makes a thorough study of it in his book "The Impact of Inflation and Devaluation on Private Legal Obligations" (Bar-Ilan University, 1976, 384 pp.).

Dr. Hirschberg argues rightly that fixed exchange rates have long been abandoned both in theory and in practice. Financial authorities are no longer prepared to endure long periods of deflation and depression in order to protect the rate of exchange.

The writer recommends "qualified valorism" as a solution for the serious distortions created by inflation and devaluation on society's infrastructure. He holds that creditors should be compensated for the loss in value of the real purchasing power of local currency. At a certain point in a country's development, which cannot be defined beforehand, the valoristic principle should be adopted. That is: parties should be compensated for loss of value as measured by the cost-of-living index.

J. VOET

WALL STREET

ASA Ltd.	12 1/2	Fair Cam	29 1/2	Mobil	65 1/2
Am Motors	4 1/4	Ford	56	Monsanto	77 1/2
Amer. T & T	60	Gen Dynam	55	NCR	35 1/2
Am Rich	59 1/2	Gen Foods	28	Oce Pet	27 1/2
Avco	16 1/2	Gen Motors	68	Pan Am	4 1/4
Avon	47 1/2	Gen Tel	25 1/2	Phil Fed	87 1/2
Bell Flow	20 1/2	Gen Tire	28 1/2	Polaroid	37 1/2
Beth St	32 1/2	Gillette	30 1/2	RCA corp.	31 1/2
Boeing	52 1/2	Grace	31 1/2	Royal Dutch	58 1/2
Brist My	82 1/2	Gulf West	14 1/2	Sears Roe	62 1/2
Burroughs	60	Gulf Oil	27 1/2	Singer	22 1/2
CBS Inc.	56 1/2	Hanwell	32	Sony	8 1/2
Celanese	51 1/2	IBM	25 1/2	Sperry Rand	57 1/2
Chase Man	32 1/2	Int Paper	34 1/2	Teledyne	67 1/2
Chrysler	17 1/2	Int. T & T	34 1/2	Texas Ins	28 1/2
Coca Cola	74 1/2	John John	67 1/2	Texas Ins	67 1/2
Con Ed	23 1/2	LTV	17 1/2	TW	13 1/2
Crown Zeller	38 1/2	Litton	13 1/2	U.S. Steel	44 1/2
Curtis Weil	15 1/2	Lockheed	11 1/2	U.S. Steel	44 1/2
Dow Chem	37 1/2	Macy	28 1/2	West Union	17 1/2
Dupont	128	Medco-Doug	23 1/2	Woolworth	28 1/2
East KDK	81 1/2	Minn Lynch	17 1/2	Xerox	47 1/2
Exxon	81 1/2	Minn LCH	22 1/2	Zentech	24 1/2

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FOREIGN CURRENCY

Official Exchange Rates	18.5.77
U.S. \$	9.2349
Sterling	15.8560
DM	3.9173
French Fr.	1.9828
Dutch Fl.	3.7655
Swiss Fr.	3.6841
Austrian S.	5.5019
Canadian \$	8.2112
Australian \$	10.1304
Rand	10.6094

INTERBANK LONDON

SPOT RATES:	
Dollar	1.7188/90 per £
DM	2.3535/45 per £
Swiss Fr.	2.5175/85 per £
Lira	886.20/40 per £
Belgian Fr.	36.075/085 per £
Dutch Fl.	2.4490/505 per £
Yen	277.20/30 per £
French Fr.	4.0615/20 per £
Danish Kr.	4.3905/10 per £
Swedish Kr.	4.2660/70 per £
Norwegian Kr.	4.2660/70 per £
Gold price:	\$146.75/147.50

FORWARD RATES:	
1 Mon. 3 Mos. 6 Mos.	
S/S	1.7188/155 1.7188/155 1.7188/155
DM/S	2.3535/145 2.3535/145 2.3535/145
Sw. Fr./S	2.5175/145 2.5175/145 2.5175/145

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Rally rolls on

NEW YORK (AP). — The stock market stretched its recent rally into a fourth session yesterday, advancing broadly in very active trading. The Dow Jones average of 30 industrial stocks rose up nearly seven points half an hour before the close, after a rise of nearly 11 points in the past three trading days. Gainers outpaced losers by about a 2 to 4 spread among New York Stock Exchange-listed issues.

Analysts said the market responded warmly to President Carter's comment on Tuesday that he hoped to end the so-called double taxation of dividends. Wall Streeters have long argued that the present law, under which company earnings passed on as dividends are taxed to both the corporation and the shareholder, is unfair.

Haifa port go-slow

Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA. — The port's 100 storekeepers and controllers yesterday started a go-slow, despite the emergency work orders that were issued against them at the beginning of the week. The orders were issued after storekeepers working at the new back-up container terminal started a partial strike.

The workers demanded that working arrangements at the new multi-million-pound installation be coordinated with the outdated methods in the rest of the port, which the management completely rejected. Now the go-slow is likely to do more damage than the original partial strike.

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DI GASN-ZINGERINS

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Ramat Gan: Beit Hahadassah Sat., May 21, 7 and 9.30 p.m.
Kiryat HaLevi: Beit Ha'am, Sun., May 22, 9 p.m.
Tel Aviv: Nahmani, Mon., May 22, 9.30 p.m.
Jerusalem: Beit Ha'am, Sat., May 28, 9 p.m.

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Mr. Begin's chance

THE VOTERS who made Menahem Begin the country's next Prime Minister — which appears the inescapable result of Tuesday's elections — need not all have bargained for what they got.

That there was a marked rightward swing among the electorate is undeniable. Yet a large number of voters, mostly among those who switched from support of Labour to the Democratic Movement for Change, appear to have been mainly intent on signalling revulsion with the Alignment's sorry recent record of incompetence and corruption.

They may not necessarily have been set on helping to install a Likud-led, right-wing nationalist administration in place of the traditional left-leaning coalition. This would seem to be indicated by the very decisiveness of Labour's debacle and of the Likud's success — which astounded almost everyone, pollster and pundit, vanquished and victor alike.

But that is what the voters wrought, for whatever reason, and Labour has only itself to blame for the dreadful beating it took. Cries of righteous anguish will not restore Labour's shattered hegemony.

That hegemony has now lasted Israel's lifetime — indeed nearly half a century, if one goes back into Zionist history — and though it has lately been slipping away, it will not be easy to yield gracefully. Yet yielded it must be, and the more smoothly the better for Israel's democracy, in which Labour surely has an abiding stake.

The transfer of power will start as soon as the new coalition is formed, which, from all indications, will be as early as early next month.

The makeup of the Begin administration is, in fact, already pretty clear: the Likud plus Shlomzion and the religious parties. That combination would make for only a bare Knesset majority, but it would do. The only question still open is whether the DMC, which has fancied itself as the balancing power, would in the end consent to compromise some of its presumably irreducible demands for the sake of a few seats at the cabinet table.

What is beyond question is that Labour will, for the first time ever, be absent from the cabinet room. That is likely to prove a painful experience, but also, perhaps, a highly salutary one — depending on what kind of use the party makes of the time that would be available for reflection and reform.

With the enormous leverage of economic power it will still command, Labour could try to bring down the next government by "sabotage" in the field, as it were. Hopefully, it will choose to play the role of the loyal opposition — as the Likud, to its credit, did, for a very long spell — and, in that role, employ all legitimate parliamentary tactics to overthrow the administration at the first available opportunity.

It would be a test of Mr. Begin's statesmanship if he can assure that that opportunity does not arise. He cannot, however, provide such assurance only by issuing idle calls for a "national unity" government which is obviously to be based on his own programme.

Oddly enough, even in the act of offering to heal the nation's divisions, the veteran Herut leader portrayed his electoral victory — in the televised "acceptance speech" — as the culmination of a titanic struggle of ideas dating back to 1931.

Carried away by jubilation over the fact that over a third of the people of this country have finally broken through the "barrier of fear" of himself, Mr. Begin appears to have forgotten that it is, still, only a little over one third. Even after he forms his expected coalition, he will most likely be facing a nation split right down the middle over his leadership. It is a cleavage which he cannot afford to ignore. For the very fabric of our democracy is involved.

People have long feared Menahem Begin not because they suspected him of disloyalty to principle, but, to the contrary, because they have viewed him as an unbending doctrinaire. His test will be not simply to overcome this image but to blend his political commitments with the need to rule on the basis of national consent.

His stand on Judea and Samaria — to which he forcibly committed the entire Likud, including a lot of reluctant Liberals — is alone an ominous sign. Mr. Begin's notion, reiterated yesterday morning, that he can have peace negotiations with the neighbouring Arab states while insisting on the annexation of all of the West Bank is, to put it mildly, not widely shared. It certainly is not shared in Washington.

President Carter has done Mr. Begin an enormous favour — amounting to perhaps two or three Knesset seats — by his vaguely suggested, though repeatedly disavowed, imposition of a settlement on Israel. But Mr. Begin's territorial conception could itself be a ready-made formula for justifying a dictated American solution.

POSTSCRIPTS

WE WONDER whether Mr. Begin had time yesterday morning to listen to the BBC and notice the way in which they upgraded him in the World Service report on our election results. The leader of the Likud, the announcer said, had in pre-State days been "the head of a guerrilla movement." To the best of our knowledge, this was the first time the BBC had used the term "guerrilla," rather than "terrorist" to describe the Jewish underground dissident movements in this country. Nothing succeeds like success, apparently.

F.D.

A FRIEND telephoned us the night before the elections with a new kind of greeting.

"We wish you easy voting tomorrow," he said, paraphrasing the traditional pre-Yom Kippur good wishes for an easy fast.

It was just right for all those undecided voters who hadn't been able to make up their minds until the last moment.

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THE MAKING OF A NEW COALITION

What kind of coalition will Likud leader Menahem Begin be able to put together, that would command a sufficient majority in the Knesset? DAVID LANDAU, surveying the political scene after the election "earthquake," offers some observations.

AT THIS EARLY stage, before the dust has settled and before any substantial haggling has begun, a coalition-forming prognosis must be written as much with a pocket calculator as with a typewriter.

And the calculations are indeed revealing. For they show that despite the DMC's phenomenal attainment of 14 seats in a six-month ordeal on which the party in fact failed in that goal it explicitly set itself, to become an indispensable partner in any politically workable coalition.

Instead the religious parties — the NRP and Aguda — have emerged as the fulcrum around which the real horse-trading will probably revolve.

Indispensable was the target that Prof. Yadin laid down last summer, in that first now-famous television interview. The only way for his projected movement to force through the reforming measures that it considered vital, he explained, was for it to hold the balance between the two main blocs, and thereby to have the whip-hand over either of them in subsequent coalition bargaining.

He estimated that if he could obtain between 12 and 20 seats he would achieve that target.

Where he apparently miscalculated, however, was in not foreseeing that nearly all of the DMC's support would come from disgruntled Labour voters, anxious to "punish" the ruling party and eagerly accepting this newly proffered way of doing so without actually voting for Likud.

IN THE EVENT, the DMC has so weakened the Alignment (leaving it with only 33 seats — although some Labour voters were also lost to Likud and to other parties) that now the two of them together are inadequate to form a coalition (even incorporating also the ILP (1) and CRM (1)), without the participation of the NRP (12).

There is no reason to suppose, however, that the NRP under its fiery young leadership will want to join any such shaky, left-leaning coalition. Most of its members now see the party's natural place as alongside the nationalist Likud, and indeed, preliminary Likud-NRP talks were already being held in the Knesset lobbies on Monday.

If the NRP (12) does, as expected, link up with the Likud — and if Aguda and Poalei Aguda (5-6) come

in too — then the Likud (41), together with Shlomzion (2) and perhaps Flatto-Sharon (1) will probably be able to form a majority government without the DMC. Such a government would admittedly command only a bare majority. But the very possibility of its formation effectively robs the DMC of its hoped-for key position in the context of a Likud-led coalition too.

Not, indeed, should a Likud-Religious coalition be seen merely as a theoretical feasibility to be used as an implied threat in Likud-DMC coalition talks.

While Menahem Begin has invited all "loyal" parties to join a national unity government, many pundits believe that Labour and the small left and centrist groups will decline, and that in practice Likud will actually open negotiations with the religious parties to establish a majority. As a next stage — so this scenario goes, and now from a position of impressive strength — Likud would offer DMC a coalition role — and would certainly not be inclined to accept all the various demands which the DMC has laid down as its conditions for joining a cabinet.

Most especially, the Likud would be expected to balk at the DMC's ultimate demand for new elections, under a reformed system, within two years. Herut has never been enthusiastic about the proposed transfer to a neo-constituency system. And the Likud as a whole, moreover, soon to taste power for the first time in so long, is unlikely to want to risk losing it again only half way through a normal four-year term.

NO-ONE CAN SAY with any certainty whether the DMC's demands are in fact amenable to the kind of flexibility that is the stuff of coalition negotiations. The Movement, after all, is a wholly new and unknown animal in our political forest. For the present, Prof. Yadin insists that all seven of the "basic principles" are ultimate and not open to any give-and-take. "We didn't enter politics in order to sit in the cabinet," he declares.

But this admirably high-minded sentiment does not quite stand up to the hurry-burly logic of the political arena. Yadin himself told the nation a year ago, at the very outset of his campaign, that this was precisely why he was entering politics: in

order to force his way into a government, ramming his reforming ideas down the throat of the bigger, but helpless, coalition partner.

Now that is all very well if you are absolutely indispensable. But if you are merely a desirable and convenient coalition partner, you make do with the most you can get, as the NRP learned and practised so adroitly during its decades of "historic partnership" with Mapai in its various incarnations.

Another of the DMC's seven principles which is bound to be a sticking point in coalition talks with the Likud is its insistence that its prospective partner's peace policy must not clash with its own. The Likud is pledged to annex the West Bank, while the DMC seeks to trade large and thickly populated Arab parts of it in exchange for peace.

Here, of course, the ideological rifts which permeate Labour (and even the Likud — although there they are deeply submerged under the joy of victory) are already beginning to show through in the DMC too. Aluf (Res), Meir Zorea, considered a hawk, sounded fairly enthusiastic in a dawn interview over the prospect of a partnership with the Likud. But the dovish Aluf (Res), Aharon Yariv, who would probably be a DMC candidate for ministerial office, said frankly that he considered the gulf between the positions of the two parties virtually unbridgeable.

(Likud elder statesman Elimelech Rinaldi, of the liberal wing, suggested on television, by way of solution, that the two parties could reserve their positions and pledges to hold a referendum on the West Bank question when and if it becomes of practical concern. This would presumably mean the Likud forgoing or shelving its pledge to annex these areas — although theoretically they could perhaps be annexed and then unannexed again if the people decide in favour of concessions.)

MUCH WILL HINGE, so the calculations show, on the stands of Aguda and Poalei Aguda. The latter, smaller group were still struggling at the time of writing to return their second M.E. Abraham Weidinger. Both he and party leader Rabbi Kalman Kahana are hawkishly inclined, and would very probably go into a Likud-led government together with the NRP.

Aguda itself, which upped its

representation from three to four seats — the result of an energetic campaign and a high rate of natural increase among Aguda families — has been out of government now for 26 years, and seems thoroughly ripe for a return.

Circumstances have never been more auspicious. The party's two main conditions — put forward in 1953 and rejected then by Labour — are amendment of the Law of Return (halachic conversion) and the abolition of conscription for girls. On the first, they can count on the support of Begin himself — he voted with the religious parties on this issue — and on the NRP submitting it as an ultimate condition of its own.

On the second, Aguda insiders indicate that what the party really

wants is for girls who say they are religious not to be grudgingly interrogated, but to be in effect taken at their word. Since at present some fifty per cent of army-age girls do not enlist, this further stretching of the rules would not, presumably, affect the statistics overly much in practice, and could, therefore, probably be accepted by the military.

Aguda's other demands are for stiffer sentences for crimes of violence and drug-peddling, stricter censorship of films and television, tightening of the Shabbat observance practices in industry, abolition or amendment of the Abortion Law — all of which seem thoroughly "manageable" in the give-and-take of coalition negotiations.

Dry Bones

Comic strip titled "Dry Bones" featuring characters discussing political figures and events.

Panel 1: DINITZ... CALM DOWN!

Panel 2: YOU'VE GOT TO STOP CALLING ARAFAT A TERRORIST CHIEFTAIN

Panel 3: RECOGNIZE THE FACT THAT HE'S A POLITICAL FIGURE WITH WHOM YOU HAVE TO DEAL!

Panel 4: SO WHAT'S NEW BY YOU?

Panel 5: MENAHEM BEGIN? PRIME MINISTER?!!

Panel 6: THAT TERRORIST CHIEFTAIN?!

READERS' LETTERS

'The Evacuees' told the truth

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — With reference to Philip Gilson's remarks in "Television" (April 15), I believe that "The Evacuees" was the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. I told my Sabra children I could see myself in "The Evacuees" as if I were opening my own personal history book.

For Derby Street (which definitely existed), read Whitworth Street, High Street, and the school year 1939: beginning of a new school year, a whole group of new first-former girls from many different primary schools all over Manchester.

September 3: Instead of classrooms we were squashed in the train, labels on our new uniform raincoats and our gasmasks in boxes around our necks. No one knew anyone, all new girls. Except me: I had a friend. Both of us came from the same primary school. She was twice my height, called appropriately enough for me, Mary Castle, and I stuck to her for dear life. Yes, we did troop in line from house to house with the evacuation officer. He had a list which indicated the number of evacuees to deposit at each house.

Blackpool is essentially a seaside resort divided into three definite sections: North Blackpool, wealthy hotels, large Jewish community, well established; Central Blackpool, strictly working-class rousing-type of beer-drinking holiday makers, very few Jewish families; and South Blackpool, lower middle-class and white-collar type of holiday makers, many Manchester Jewish families with children staying in the three-story detached semi-detached type of boarding houses.

So, there we were in South Blackpool, trudging up one street and down the next, the number of girls dwindling. It was getting close, the landlady said she would take ten children; the officer counted and stopped; my tall friend was number 10 and I was 11. We clutched each other's hand and the landlady said: "Well, I'll take the small one as well — I'll take 11."

No one knew I was Jewish. Till dinner-time the next day. When I didn't touch the food that evening, it was put down to tiredness. But the next day I was hungry, having no more of my Mom's sandwiches left. I very nearly threw up just at the smell of the bacon next morning. That was the moment when I really became conscious of my Jewishness. At dinner-time I asked for something else to eat: the food meat with gravy over the potatoes. It came out: I was Jewish. I then had a period of being "holier than." Saturday when we were supposed to clean the rooms, I was excused, because "it is her Sunday" the girls explained. I even agreed to forgo playing on the beach because "we never played at home"; I became the centre of attraction and coming from a family of six children that was quite a change. However, there were also those who passed snide remarks and I did my share of crying. For food, well for every meat dish, I got one or two Blackpool tomatoes instead, breakfast, dinner and supper too. Amazing how many meat dishes, bacon, etc., can be eaten in a day. Generally it was tomatoes with potatoes, that was the meal. To this day when I eat whole tomatoes with potatoes on a plate, my inner mind flashes right back to those days.

Your other Haifa reader was a refugee, possibly living in a refugee hostel or boarded out with a Jewish family in Manchester, and no doubt the Refugee Reception Committee looked out for their interests. It sounds as if they took them to North Blackpool.

The English-born child went wherever he was directed by the school authorities with no differences made; willy-nilly, you were on a list and you were dropped off at the house that would take evacuees.

MYRA WEINBERG
Haifa

DACHAU MEMORIAL

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — I refer to "While West Germany lacks candour on Dachau Buchenwald exploited as Communist shrine," by Washington Post Correspondent Michael Getler (April 19).

While visiting Dachau, Mr. Getler obviously did not have sufficient time to view all exhibits on display in the museum. Otherwise he would not have written this report containing not only scanty but misleading information.

He quotes alleged statements I am supposed to have made, but never did, as I did not meet Mr. Getler personally. I fail to understand where he got his information.

The maintenance of the camp and its personnel are paid for by the Government of Bavaria. The Dachau Museum and the entire memorial site were planned and set up upon the initiative and according to plans of the International Dachau Committee, the international association of all former Dachau inmates. The project was approved and financed by the German authorities.

BARBARA DISTEL, Director
Dachau Memorial

STOP MOANING

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — Bravo for your leader: "A sense of proportion" (May 5). The "stop moaning" movement is long overdue.

However, I disagree with your statement limiting the job of the news media to "hard fact, expose abuses, pinpoint failures, lash inefficiency." If the public hears only "moaning" from the news media, how do you expect it to react? In order to achieve a sense of proportion, it should be the duty of the news media to stress the achievements as prominently as it does the failures.

Netanya.
DE. JACOB ROBIN

Dishonouring the flag

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — With reference to Martha Meisels' article, "Dishonouring the flag" (April 23), I would like to point out that, unlike in America, there is no law against defiling the Israeli flag here. That is why the people from Gush Erez were fully within their rights when they covered their heads with the flag during that cloud burst.

I would also wish to point out to Mr. Meisels that, in accordance to Jewish law, no object can be worshipped (including the Israeli flag) and any law about defiling the flag would be considered idol worshiping in religious circles.

Rehovot.
JOSEPH MILLIS

THE URANIUM AFFAIR

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — It is fascinating to speculate on the reason why the apparent disappearance nine years ago of a consignment of uranium should now suddenly flash upon the world's headlines.

If the uranium was intended for and legally acquired by Israel, then there should have been nothing further to discuss. If the consignment really went astray, then the time to raise the alarm would have been immediately when the ship was found to be missing, i.e. nine years ago. So why all the fuss now?

Can it be a deliberate leak by the Americans to create international publicity, thus adding weight to President Carter's proposed controls on nuclear raw materials?

Haifa.
N.J. MENDELSON

Equality for women in IDF

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, — Aluf Binyamin Peled's words to the first female graduates of the Air Force jet mechanics course are somewhat surprising (May 5). It is ironic that this event should evidently be considered a step forward for the I.D.F. Thirty years ago, there was no question as to a woman's ability to serve in the same capacity as a man in Israeli society. We have indeed regressed if "a shortage of manpower" is the only reason considered sufficient to allow a woman a measure of equal opportunity in the I.D.F.

MIRIAM FRINBERG
Jerusalem.

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THE JERUSALEM POST MAGAZINE

New beginning for Begin...

...after Tuesday's elections, Yosef Goel analyses the unforeseen results and attempts to predict the possible composition of a Likud-led government.

Arms and Israel: Hersh Goodman discusses the moral, political and economic implications of our expanding armaments industry.

The Garden — Sophie Kahn tells the story of Israel's entry for the Cannes Film Festival.

Are you sneezing? Haim Shapiro investigates springtime allergies.

Plus all the regular features and the Weekend Dry Bones.

This and more in Friday's THE JERUSALEM POST MAGAZINE